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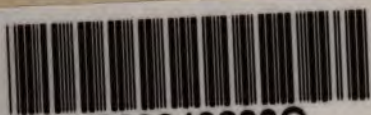
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Britain

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A
CALM CONSIDERATION
OF THE
PRESENT STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS,

ADDRESSED TO

The Loyal & Unprejudiced

OF ALL CLASSES;

WITH

REMARKS ON MR. E. L. BULWER'S LETTER.

BY A LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE.

"Awake! arise! or be for ever fall'n!"

"I am no orator, as *Brutus* is,
But, as you know me all, a plain blunt man.

• • • • •

For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech
To stir men's blood: I only speak right on;
And tell you that which you yourselves do know."

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AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1835.

Price Two Shillings.

474.



R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD-STREET HILL.

THE
PRESENT STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS,
&c. &c.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

AT a moment when the enemies of order are attempting to “fright this isle from its propriety, and making common cause throughout Ireland as well as in Great Britain, to oppose a Conservative Ministry, from which alone we can expect tranquillity or security;—though but an humble individual, I feel it my duty, as a plain man and a good citizen, to call upon you to consider what should be *your* course at this most important juncture.

After the unnatural excitement produced by the agitation of an improvement in the theory of representation, now settled by the Reform Bill; an agitation which most seriously injured the interests of every class of the community, and

paralysed the energies of trade ; it is evident to us all that the kingdom is in need of repose. Are we to live in a continual turmoil, to suit the purposes of a few factious and defeated politicians ? or shall we make a stand against the mania of *change for its own sake* ?

These are questions which it behoves every man to reflect upon. Men of sense, unprejudiced by the rage of party feeling,—men who have valuable interests in the well-being of the State,—will at once resolve to throw their weight into the scale of practical and good government, which, in the words of our most gracious Sovereign's answer to the unconstitutional, and factious *Address of the Common Council of London*, “WILL CORRECT ABUSES, AND IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.”—*This* is what we want ; *this* is *all* that we are desirous or anxious for. How much more will that ministry deserve from us which will really carry into effect this practical benefit, than a *doctrinaire* cabinet, ever pestering us, and wasting the truly valuable time of Parliament, with fanciful, new-fangled, and dangerous experiments in *amateur* legislation. Would they have a new Reform Bill every year, and spend the entire session in the unprofitable discussion of it, to the utter neglect of all real business ?

But the adventurers who have nothing to lose, and whose hopes of advancement lie in agitation,

are working hard to get up another strife among the lieges; for confusion is their kingdom, and anarchy their jubilee! They halloo for Lord Durham and the Destructives, in whom all their hopes of revolution and expectations of plunder are centered.

For the *first* time in our modern history, it has been attempted—by a contemptible few it is true, but the attempt has been made—to force upon the King an obnoxious minister, and a low set of men, dreaded by all the respectable part of the community. My friends, it is not wise to treat this with contempt: if these men be not crushed in their *first* treasonable project, we shall have to fight a battle on far less advantageous ground. If we do not show that we are opposed to Jacobinism in its birth, the spirit of revolution will stalk abroad, and infest our hearths and homes; the torch of civil war will throw out its horrid glare,—sons will fight against fathers, and brothers fall by the hands of brothers; all the charities which spring up so beautifully in private life will be destroyed; fierce discord and bloody treason will reign triumphant in the land!

The question is, Shall we support the Monarchy? Behold the first attack upon it! Afar off, in the haze, may be discerned the accursed *tri-color*, and the fiend who bares it, gathers around him the ghastly myrmidons of dread Republicanism! The

first advance of the enemies of human happiness will be insidious; but if it be not resolutely checked, they will march with the rapidity of desperation, scattering misery and destruction in their path, to the assault of the throne and the profanation of the altar. To avert the horrors of revolutionary France, and a surely succeeding despotism from our homes and our loved ones, requires but *one effort*, and *now* is the time to make it! Will you allow the moment to escape? Can you be so far sunk in apathy? If you would not have repentance, bitter and unavailing, come too late, beat back at once and for ever the insolent brawlers who even now dare to challenge the sacred prerogative of the King, in the inviolability of which both prince and people are equally interested. The fate of Britain depends upon your firmness.

Loyal Englishmen, stand forth and *support your Sovereign, and the servants he has chosen* to carry on his government, or William IV. will be *the last of our kings*, and the youthful hope of Britain, the Princess Victoria, *will never sit upon the throne of her ancestors*.

You have a security against misgovernment in the power which you possess of returning your representatives to Parliament. By their means you can at any time overthrow a *bad* ministry, by simply outvoting them in the House of Commons. But, unless it were possible to

imagine a Cabinet selected from the maniac Destructives,—the revolutionary Radicals without character or guarantee of any kind, the day is gone by when we can ever see *bad* ministers. The late Cabinet were not *bad* men, but they were ignorant and incapable; they commenced by cajoling, and ended by deceiving, the people; they got into power by holding out a bribe to the lower orders; they promised to them impossibilities, and caused it to be spread abroad that the Reform Bill would produce unheard-of wonders for them. It was to make all Englishmen at once prosperous, happy, and rich, the poor Irish were all to be *jintlemen*, and the universal Scotch nothing less than *lairds*. Such prospects were not to be withstood; but when the people found it was all a cheat, and that they got nothing by sending either scamps or madmen into Parliament, and it became at length but too apparent that their beloved ministers were thinking only of place, patronage, and quarter-day, they felt as indignant men must, when they discover an imposition; and in my conscience I believe that they are ready to welcome the ministry that will “*correct abuses, and improve the condition of the country.*”

In the censure which I cannot but express on the late ministers, I must except the venerable Earl Grey, his Grace of Richmond, Lords Stanley and Ripon, and the independent Sir

James Graham of Netherby. When *they* discovered that *another desperate experiment*, accompanied by the meanest subserviency to an insolent traitor, and that a sacrilegious destruction of our holy Church was to be hazarded to preserve the *incapables* in power for another session, they departed from the cabinet of conspirators, and, as they passed the polluted threshold, they shook the dust from off their feet.

Since then, the *remnant* have presented to an astonished world the intrigues and quarrels of the itinerant performers, furiously opposing each in public, and bringing the King's government into disrepute. Ridiculed, insulted, and defied by the arch-demagogue of Ireland, whom by turns they had threatened or tampered with, they at length have fallen from their high stations, followed by the indignation of their Sovereign, the contempt of the Conservatives, the indifference or exultation of the people.

They are gone—and for ever! Their day is past away. The alternative is now between the Destructive Revolutionists and the Conservatives; for England will no longer be kept in dispute for the names of Whig and Tory. Moderate men will unite their strength to hold in check the common enemy. The Radical Destructives are not blind to the peril of the moment, and *they* spare no efforts to persuade the country that it is, and ought to be, and must be, *alarmed*,

and that it *must* be consigned to their tender mercies. Heaven forbid!

It is amusing to observe the small ambulatory gangs of agitators who perambulate the metropolis and its suburbs, and raise at every paltry meeting the same cuckoo-notes of sedition. The same farce is performed by a few of their correspondents in some of the large towns; and *then* their organs of the press declare *this* to be the *public voice*,—that there is a general alarm, and determined opposition to the Conservatives! Are you, my friends, such children, can you be such idiots, as to be deceived by so shallow a pretext of a handful of spouters, this weak invention of a contemptible faction? It is impossible; and the good sense of Englishmen must prevail.

For four years Europe has been upon the verge of another general war; good fortune, but assuredly not good management, has averted it. Yet at what a sacrifice on the part of Britain! She, who was once paramount in influence, and arbitress of the European councils, has been degraded in the face of Christendom. Insulted, and set at nought by any petty prince of Europe, she is reduced to the position of a *third-rate* power. Distrust and suspicion in *all*,—revenge and hatred in *many* of the continental states, have been engendered towards us, and we are at this moment without one faithful ally. The late cabinet sacrificed them all to “the spirit of

the age," and yet, to their eternal infamy, became accomplices in the insurrection of Poland, and afterwards connivers at the cruelties committed upon her gallant, but unfortunate defenders.

How have they left the foreign relations of Great Britain? Let Belgian protocols; the slaughter of Antwerp; the disgraceful expedition of the combined North Sea squadron, and the yet unsettled state of Belgium, explain. Let the indignation of Holland, and the treacherous and incredible abandonment of Turkey, answer. Let the civil wars of the Peninsula, the occupation of Ancona and Algiers, the exclusive system of France and Prussia, be called to mind. Let the failures of Lord Durham in Russia, of Poulett Thomson and Dr. Bowring in France, be remembered.

We have yet to see the too probable loss of the West Indies, for the sake of trying too hasty theories of emancipation, at the expense of twenty millions sterling to the already overburdened people of this country, upon the well-fed, well-housed, well-clothed, well-managed, and contented negroes, upon whom the change has inflicted more misery, more floggings, shootings, and hangings, in a few short months, than even hypocritical missionaries had been able to *invent*, in thrice as many years, to delude, and draw the purse-strings of their deceived patrons in England.

We have yet perhaps to see our Indian empire rise in rebellion, instigated by ambitious native chiefs, or reckless adventurers from the mother country, to whom the *late* ministers have given free access to a land, where none but men of respectability *at least*, should be permitted to reside. The class of our countrymen capable of upholding the interests of Great Britain and the happiness of India, should be drawn, either from the capitalists who would improve the capabilities of a vast population; or from men of high character, to maintain the deep respect of the natives for the British name. But these precautions have been laid aside as idle dreams.

We have yet to see our relations with a still more distant empire—CHINA—become a thorn in our side, and a source of ruin to our commerce. Without power to check the encroachments of the local government of Canton, without any sufficient substitute for the influence of the East India Company, our merchants pour their millions into that remote and despotic country, trusting to chance for their security, when in fact they are exposed to hourly jeopardy from the first drunken brawl which may occur between our seamen and the natives. Unless determined measures be taken, and a proper understanding be come to with the Chinese government, our (if well regulated) magnificent commerce with that country must ere long be destroyed: causing at once the

ruin of the traders, an irreparable loss to the revenue, and the deprivation of one of the most innocent comforts of the people of England.

The present absurd system of the tea duties, and the consequent continual harassing of the importers of the herb, will, no doubt, be abandoned by the Conservatives, at the earliest moment that existing contracts will with justice permit. The mistaken notion that the industrious orders purchase the *low teas only*, is now so completely dispelled, that the worn out pretence of befriending the humbler classes (who, happily, can and do afford to purchase good *teas*) will no longer be allowed as a reason for deluging the country with trash unfit for human consumption, tending to disgust the people, and to destroy the tea-trade, which every enlightened government would wish to encourage.

We have yet to see the ignorant and bigotted, and therefore much-to-be-pitied, half-wild inhabitants of the south and west of Ireland, stirred once more into fierce revolt by an unprincipled leader and his execrable and contemptible tail. Shame on the *gentlemen* of Ireland, who allow this hungry and impudent tribe to lead them by the nose. I am unable to imagine any event, save the downfall of the *late* cabinet, which would have prevented the success of this attempt, which will yet perhaps be made, but which a firm and benevolent government shall, please God, most

signally defeat, if necessary, by the strong hand ; but eventually, by their system of practical benefits, which will come home to the conviction of every man's mind, as they proceed to "*correct abuses, and improve the condition of the country.*"

With Ireland this will admit of no delay, if we would avert its separation from British connexion. The selfishness of landlords, and the depravity of begging agitators, must forthwith be curbed ; Poor Laws must be introduced, rioting put down, and a security given (if need be, by a guarantee of the Treasury) to private capital introduced into that hitherto unhappy island, for the employment of the population, by establishing manufactories, constructing roads and canals, clearing wastes, and for other measures to "improve the condition of the country."

Let these things be done, and we shall shortly see that the misery which now enlists under the banner of religious warfare, will disappear ; and it will quickly become a matter of equal indifference in Ireland, as it is now in Great Britain, to any man, of what denomination of Christians his neighbour may be.

No people on earth were ever so strictly bound to administer to the necessities of their brethren, as we of Great Britain are to those of our Irish countrymen, were it only for the unexampled misery they have endured without infringing upon the rights of property, or breaking the bonds of

loyalty,—though pricked on to desperation by monsters who have fed upon their woes, who were anxious by their blood and groans to gratify an inordinate and savage ambition ; or, failing of such an issue, were determined at least to amass wealth in the aggregate, by the extorted pittances of their starving victims. Shame on the callous men, who blush not

“————— to wring
From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash.”

In Ireland must the *first* efforts of the new ministry be made. Humanity and policy equally demand it. Every *real* “abuse” of the Church in Ireland, and in Great Britain, must be “*corrected*,” yet must the ministers, as christian men, uphold our sacred faith, as they shall answer to their God in the day of doom. On the deeply momentous question of the Tithes, it would be most unstatesman-like to decide hastily or partially. A well-judged, bold, conciliatory, and *definitive* measure of commutation must and will be adopted, the details of which it would be out of place here to speculate upon.

The Irish question, it is clear, will call for the earliest attention of the government ; and though there may be many subjects nearer home, equally important in interest, they must be taken in hand *subsequently*, and in such a manner as may give

the greatest satisfaction to all those who are most capable of judging correctly upon such points.

Never had ministry a fairer prospect before them. Instead of doubt, and danger, and preparation for war throughout Europe, we may now hope to see an universal peace, settled upon a basis which shall not admit of disturbance, at least during the present generation. We shall see the differences of continental powers, settled by decree of a General Congress. The states of Christendom shall seem to constitute one mighty European kingdom, the people of which will *as little* think of making war upon each other—(which, even if they wished, would not be permitted) on account of the paltry interests or the impertinent provocations that have heretofore caused mountains of treasure to be expended, and seas of blood to flow,—as the agricultural parts of our own country would desire, or be allowed, to decide their pretensions with those of our manufacturing districts, at the point of the bayonet or at the cannon's mouth.

Every *good* man must *feel*, that in forwarding so grand an object of inter-national policy, he is doing the greatest service of which he is capable to his fellow-men, without distinction of language or country, and that he would thus best contribute to the happiness of his species, and to the glory of his God.

I have recently seen "a Letter to a late Cabinet Minister," published by Mr. Litton Bulwer, insidious in its sophistry, mischievous in doctrine, and disloyal in sentiment. It however proves that a very excellent novel-writer may be a very sorry and short-sighted politician. He commences by a supposition, perfectly gratuitous, that the Duke of Wellington has desired to "gain a victory over the English people:" he says, "he tried first to prevent giving power to the people, and, the power obtained, he would now resist it." The Duke, in common with millions of experienced and talented men, did object to the sudden and excessive change in the system of representation, and still more to the details of the *measure* by which the change was made. But be it remembered that, by the exposure of many of its absurdities, various clauses were omitted, and others introduced, which have rendered it comparatively safe; and the Duke, immediately after the passing of the Reform Bill, publicly declared his intention of respecting and maintaining it as the law of the land.* The insolent comparison of his Grace to the expiring Marlborough is as false as it is odious to every man of either taste or good feeling; for the man lives not who shall see the "dotage" of the Duke! In that respect he

* See a reprint of his Grace's Reply to an Address, after the disgraceful outrage upon him by some wretches in the City. Morning Herald, Nov. 1834.

is the very antithesis of the hero of Blenheim; for years bring *to him* no loss of energy, while they strengthen his judgment. Straight forward in all his actions, keen of discernment, quick and impartial in decision, inflexible in lofty integrity, he commands at once the respect of friends and foes, while his political enemies quail before him in the cabinet, as heretofore did those of his country in the tented field.

What nonsense does Mr. Bulwer tell us about "soldiers being great in war, and *valueless in peace*," with some rubbish about smoky chimneys. Surely, in the state of politics during the last century, the best guarantee of peace was the maintenance of sufficient forces to be prepared for war. Such sayings are, therefore, those of a *wise-acre*, not, as Mr. Bulwer thinks, those of a "wise man."

The "late cabinet minister" is addressed as one who "wished to unite the preservation of order with the establishment of a popular government." He and his colleagues might possibly have *wished* to achieve this object; but, undoubtedly, they were totally *ignorant* of the means of accomplishing it, *and so is Mr. Bulwer*, as he very clearly shows in his *Letter*. The *late* cabinet seem only to have "wished to unite the preservation of"—*their own places, with permission to the people to run riot, and govern themselves*. They broke down accordingly.

Mr. Bulwer was quite as sure that he knew the list of the new ministry, as though it had been already in the Gazette. He was, perhaps, at fault there ; in despite of his fears and doubts, there has been constructed, with ease, a Conservative Government, which will last, unchanged in principle, for the next forty years—a government which will meet with the support of nineteen-twentieths of the wealth, intelligence, and respectability of the country.

Lord Stanley, he thinks, will not join the new ministry. That may be : yet he is *literally* a Conservative, and therefore he left the late cabinet. But whether he join the ministry or not, the “unblemished integrity and haughty honour” of his Lordship are a certain guarantee that he will support their liberal conservative measures, just as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel supported many of those brought forward by Lord Grey and himself.

When Mr. Bulwer talks of “names to which the heart of the people *responded*,” he forgets that it was in a moment of delirium, when they were coaxed and wheedled ; and that they abhorred these self-same names when they found they had been duped, and been promised more than was ever *intended* to have been performed. He thinks the Tories might be safely entrusted with power if they had been a thousand years, in what he calls, in *Whig parlance*, “the purgatory of ex-

clusion from office ;” but he forgets, that in politics, *four years* are equal to a thousand in other affairs. With the notions of the hungry tribe, he talks of the irresistible prospect of “little red boxes” and “a quarter’s salary.” This may apply to some of his friends, but not to such men as Sir Robert Peel and the Duke, or the class of men with whom they act in the new Government. He speaks of the enormity of those brigands, who not only enriched themselves amidst general confusion, during the time of the plague, but who did worse,—“who created the disorder in order to obtain the profit.” How exactly does this describe the conduct of the men who, to secure their offices, raised the storm of 1832 among the Political Unions, and when they had served their purpose, denounced them.

Mr. Bulwer imagines that His Majesty could not have dismissed the Incapables without being previously convinced that his Grace would form a ministry. Assuredly the King never for a moment doubted that *at any time, and on any emergency*, he could rely upon the Duke’s fidelity and devotion to his Sovereign, and also on his power to form a ministry.

Instead of beholding, as Mirabeau did, “the *tiers état* on one side, and the master of the ceremonies on the other,” we now see arrayed on the side of Order and the Monarchy, all who are born to guide the destinies of their country ;

against them,—but a petty and defeated faction, a few agitators by trade, and a portion of the most ignorant of the populace.

The insult to His Majesty (p. 16 of Bulwer's Letter), in which he accuses the King of an intention to "rule the country by means of the House of Lords alone," is worthy of no other notice than the indignation which every gentleman of the empire must feel, at so gratuitous an affront to a monarch to whom we bear reverence and loyal affection. By such insolent audacity, exhibited *before its time*, has Mr. Bulwer ruined the hopes of his *confederates*; he has made England's best and bravest resolve to *stand by the King*, against all his enemies; he has made the Conservatives the King's *garde-du-corps*.

Our author asks, "Will the people return a House of Commons like a Gatton?" The disgraceful exhibitions at Stroud and elsewhere have made it imperative to appeal to the people, and they will return members fit to constitute a deliberative assembly, and not merely a spouting club, or a society for trying wild experiments.

It is *not* wonderful, though Mr. Bulwer would affect to think so, that a ministry divided by internal dissensions, and rendered contemptible by brawlings among its members at public dinners, should be dismissed when their only hope, their last chance, their great trump-card in the House of Commons, the *fascinator*, Lord Althorp,

was compelled to quit the scene of his stammering triumphs. This alone was a sufficient reason for the dismissal of a set of men, (who, as a ministry, were the most helpless that this kingdom ever saw,) without any such round-about rigmarole as Mr. Bulwer has chosen to put forth, to burlesque his Sovereign. His Majesty seems to have heard Lord Melbourne's long story of schemes and contrivances, with great patience; but in his reply, and final decision, the King appears to have been as brief as his well-known courtesy would permit, and to have declared at once that he saw the necessity for changing his ministers.

It is admitted by Mr. Bulwer, that Lord Melbourne, on the retirement of Earl Grey, acknowledged the *impossibility* of carrying on the government *without* Lord Althorp; and then much excellent casuistry is thrown away in the forlorn hope of demonstrating that he could afterwards *have done very well without* that inimitable financier, the Orpheus of the House of Commons. Unluckily but a very poor case is made out; for certainly the argument does not carry conviction to the reader.

The opinion that the Duke of Wellington can now be influenced by an "insatiate lust of power," is rendered ludicrous, when it is remembered that his Grace has, nearly throughout his military career, possessed much more power (even to life and death) than any minister, even the Premier of England, can ever be invested with.

All the sublime indignation expended (pp. 26, 27, of the "Letter") on the probability of the new ministers "out-bidding their predecessors in matters of Reform," is likewise thrown away. They will "correct abuses," but not delude the people with fanciful theories. They will not "keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope." But it is surely unkind of a friend of the late cabinet to remind us of "opinions expressed out of office, and violated in power;" who ever broke so many pledges, and so unblushingly, as the Whigs?

It is quite true that the Tories formerly declined to accept office on the terms offered to them. The Duke might have chosen to sacrifice his own feelings for his Sovereign's service, but no other man could afford to expose himself to the attacks of malignant enemies. His Grace is no ordinary man, and can do those things without suspicion of motives, which might be ruinous to others who have not achieved a reputation so indestructible as his.

The present occasion is, however, far different. The Tories, true to their principles, respect the laws as they are, even though they did not concur in their enactment; and feel it equally a point of honour to maintain the acts of Parliament carried, and the treaties concluded by their predecessors. The Tories are told they must be caught on one of the horns of a dilemma, either "as uncompro-

missing anti-reformers, or ambitious and grasping traitors." Sapient Mr. Bulwer, they will "extricate" themselves from this awful dilemma, by being neither the one nor the other.

Neither will they be the "High-Church party," (p. 30.) The Duke alone could carry the Catholic Question; so he is the *only* minister who can, without a violent struggle, "correct the abuses" of the Church, and afterwards make a halt upon the ground which shall appear to be the safest, the most politic, and the most just, to both the Church and the people.

I will imagine that the Duke had announced his intention of bringing forward, in his place in Parliament, a measure to "correct abuses" of the Church. After the threats which have been held out from its enemies, it would perhaps be the duty of the bishops to require information of his Grace's views. I will suppose the Duke to answer, "My Lords, I will do my duty as a minister who is a son of the Church; but be assured that in six weeks from this time, the possibility of any clergyman thenceforward becoming a *pluralist*, or a non-resident, shall cease to exist. Such and such new arrangements shall be enacted, which must effectually remove the imputation of lucre-hunting from the clergy, and the sources of distrust and heart-burnings from their parishioners. The incomes of all the labourers in God's vineyard must be more *equalized*, so must

the sees and incomes of your Lordship's successors," &c. &c.

What would be the effect of such a declaration from a cabinet of Ultra-Whigs or Radicals? A well-founded alarm of "The Church is in danger!" But the *same words* coming from the Duke would be deemed by the bishops a satisfactory proof that there were no hostile intentions lurking beneath them; and their reply would be, "We confide in your Grace."

The Duke would *quietly* do all this, and yet "the parsons would (*not*) be in arms against him," though Mr. Bulwer expects the contrary: but if *they were*; his Grace would, as he has ever done, "keep on the even tenour of his way."

He is not the man to be imposed upon by *fanatics* of any denomination. He has seen enough of the different religions of the world, and of those who scream the loudest in their behalf; from the Parsee fire-worshippers, the Brahmins, Mahomedans, Hindoos, and other Pagans of Asia, to the Romanists, the Protestant Reformers, and the sectarian classes of Europe; to give due credit, *and no more*, to religious brawlers of *any sect*. He can well despise the *calumnies* of his opponents, and tell them,

"I am arm'd so strong in honesty,
That they pass by me, as the idle wind
Which I regard not."

No one, with a tithe of the Duke's experience of the world, can doubt that true religion reposes under a quiet and unostentatious exterior, and seeks redress by reasoning and calm remonstrance, not by sedition and disloyalty; she appeals to Heaven rather than to man.

The Dissenters certainly have serious grievances to complain of. There will be little difficulty in allowing them forthwith to christen, marry, bury, and register, just as they think proper. In a short time their release from church-rates, and their admission to degrees, and (under conditions) to the Universities, or charters for separate Universities of their own will be granted; but for them to *howl* about these latter topics, and rave impatiently for their instant discussion in Parliament, is almost as unreasonable as it would be for the people at large to cry out for a bill to pay off the National Debt out of the present revenue.

In reference to a sneer (in a note of p. 31) at the Church of Ireland, it must be obvious to those who have really studied the subject, that *the want of beneficial employment*, and not the Protestant Establishment, is the curse of Ireland; whatever plundering priests or grasping landlords may say in order to cover the extortions of the one, or the monstrous rack-rents of the other, the latter being, in many cases, absentees, spending their incomes at Florence or Naples, at Brussels or in Paris.

Mr. Bulwer imagines that, by allowing any reform in corporations, the Duke would "betray his fortresses:" but here is the error of Mr. Bulwer and his *clique*; with *them*, to reform, means—to *destroy*; with the Conservatives, it means—"to *correct abuses*."

From such a course, unmixed good alone can proceed. The new ministry will show the world that they can amend and yet preserve the institutions committed to their charge. Let the people of England do their duty in supporting the King's servants, and the hydra of revolution shall be strangled in its birth.

It is clearly erroneous to assert that, at the present day, there are "opposite and irreconcilable interests" belonging to the aristocracy and the people; they can have but one common and mutual interest, the welfare of the State, the prosperity and security of the community. This is only attainable when each portion of the nation respects the privileges of the other; if the people attempt to violate the kingly power, how can they expect that the aristocracy, the Church, and the vested interests of the country can fail to take the alarm, and prepare for a struggle? Thus may the factious again unsettle men's minds, paralyse trade, and check the advances of prosperity, as they did in 1832, by their Reform-Bill agitation.

As to the immediate and most urgent cause of the dismissal of Lord Melbourne's cabinet, there is,

at the present moment, no shadow of doubt upon the public mind, that His Majesty was shocked by the exposure of their sacrilegious project, for the subversion of the Protestant Church in Ireland ; and, as became a Christian King, he bade them quit his councils. Again must it be repeated, in reply to the constant assertions of Mr. Bulwer to the contrary, that the Duke of Wellington was chosen as a confidential adviser by His Majesty, because he was a *tried friend*, and had proved himself by his former practice as a minister, an effectual corrector of abuses, but no "Destructive."

The pretext that the defenders of the royal prerogative are exposing the monarchy to danger, is too impudent to merit an argument in reply. Will not the unfortunate policy of the mild but weak Louis XV. be remembered, who, wanting firmness to make a stand when his just rights were attacked, was thenceforward, by every new unreasonable concession, dragged nearer to the scaffold ?

When we read Mr. Bulwer's insolence about "the abrupt exercise of one man's prerogative," and the *women*, as he designates them, of His Majesty's family, and of the probable "desire for stronger innovations than those *merely* of reform," *i. e.* revolution, (p. 37, 38,) it is sufficiently clear that the *time is come*, when it is necessary to see *who is for the King ?* to declare our abhorrence

of the traitorous democrats, who dare to insult the Sovereign and the nation by their pestilential doctrines.

Lord Grey's cabinet *were right* in supporting the election of Sir Charles Manners Sutton to the Speaker's chair; how would their half raw and unmanageable mob of new members have been kept in order by any other man? The Grey cabinet were deeply indebted to Sir Charles for accepting the troublesome and dreadfully laborious office among such people. Had the cabinet at that time patronised the blundering and shuffling Mr. Lyttleton, what scenes of riot should we have beheld! what recriminations, what dire conflicts, perhaps even personal violence, and "confusion worse confounded!" But, for the honour of Parliament, Sir Charles did them the favour to break them in, and save them from exposure of themselves.

The deep respect and attention shewn to Sir Charles by the old members, and all the *gentlemen* among the new ones, gave him the power to check commotions which were beyond the influence of any other man to subdue. What would have become of them had the Whigs called him to the Upper House, which they dared not attempt, notwithstanding their forty or fifty pitchfork Peers? We cannot forget the MORNING CHRONICLE's report of the cock-crowing and donkey-braying of a right honourable member of the late

Cabinet, *in concert* with the Dissenters' member for Finsbury, in the members' gallery of the House of Commons, "*out of the eye of the Speaker.*" Other affairs, somewhat similar, are still fresh in the minds of an indignant public.

We are told (p. 41) that "Lord Melbourne's cabinet had not been tried." Indeed! why, they had a very open trial before the Edinburgh dinner-eaters, — a public performance, at which they clawed each other furiously, and ended by a pitched battle! Let any English gentleman imagine himself situated as the King was, and say whether he would not have been ashamed of such servants? Let him say whether he does not applaud His Majesty's straight-forward boldness, in making a clean sweep of the whole lot? Is there an English gentleman who will not answer, "I would have acted as the King did?"

The King dismissed them when he found they were no longer to be trusted with the reins of government. Under such management as theirs the Monarchy and the Church were in imminent danger, and every paltry agitator had full license to annoy and injure his neighbours.

Mr. Bulwer takes great credit to himself in having foretold, in one of his books, that the Tories were "scotched, not killed," and "were far from being crushed." Why, every idiot knew that the great and powerful party in the kingdom attached to Tory principles must naturally return

to office, without any pre-concerted arrangement with the King, "*whose secret, and, it maybe, stubborn inclinations, are now apparent,*" quoth Mr. Bulwer. You see, my friends, that he loses no opportunity of sneering at and insulting your King. If this man be returned to the next House of Commons, his constituents will be most deservedly branded as disaffected to their Sovereign.

But it seems that the discarded ministry themselves meant to have treated the King much in Mr. Bulwer's fashion. He says, (in p. 35,) that they intended to "have thrown themselves on the people, and abided by the consequence;" and he adds, "for that they are dismissed." Pray was it intended to have raised the parliamentary standard and forces once more against the King? and was Lord John Russell to be the generalissimo as well as Paymaster? It seems, upon their own showing, that the King had abundant reasons for kicking them out.

Mr. Bulwer's idea of a good government appears to be—one chosen by the political unions, with the destructive Lord Durham as Premier. This revolutionary earl is declared to be "the idol of the people," "the synonym of the people's confidence." How must his lordship laugh in his sleeve at being thus christened! He, John George Lambton, the most haughty man in the empire, the *aspiring* Duke of Durham, to be

the flatterer of the mob! the beggar for their
 “most sweet voices!”

How deeply all who know him must wonder at the grossness of the delusion, the fine acting of the sweet-tempered lord, and the ignorant credulity of his stupid followers! With some little talent, and an overweening idea of his own oratory, Lord Durham is, beyond comparison, the most blindly ambitious man in Great Britain. Seeming to hate his own *Order*, who, perhaps, pay him not the deference he thinks himself entitled to at their hands, he is ready to endanger the aristocracy and the monarchy by his mad conduct. He would, without hesitation, combine with O’Connell to divide the empire between them, if the Political Unions and “*Liberal Clubs*” would go so far with them. But let these two gentlemen, “arcades ambo,” take care of their curls, and keep them out of the way of the axe, for if they mend not their ways, their heads may yet come to the block! May their friends and families (for they are good husbands and fathers, and kind landlords) wean them from the path which leads to dishonour and disgrace; if the attempt fail, their guilt be upon their own heads alone!

Let me sketch for your contemplation, my fellow-countrymen, an outline of a ministry, such as these two politicians would form, and which the Revolutionary Destructives would hail as—

"The best of all possible Governments."

First Lord of the Treasury,

HIS GRACE JOHN GEORGE DUKE
OF DURHAM, K. G., Prince Pala-
tine, with possession of the
Revenues of the Bishopric of
Durham.

Lord High Chancellor,
President of the Council,

LORD LUSHINGTON.

LORD SEGRAVE.

Secretary of State for the Home
Department,

RT. HON. WILLIAM COBBETT.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

MR. MURPHY, of Mary-le-bone.

Secretary of State for the Colonies,

T. FOWELL BUXTON, Esq.

Chancellor of the Exchequer,

RT. HON. JOSEPH HUME.

Lord Privy Seal,

EARL OF RADNOR.

First Lord of the Admiralty,

LORD DUNCOMBE, of Finsbury.

President of the Board of Control,

RT. HON. EDW. LYTTON BULWER.

Commander-in-Chief,

GENERAL SIR GEORGE COCKBURN.

Military Secretary,

COLONEL JONES.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

{ THE MOST NOBLE DANIEL (O'CON-
NELL,) Marquis of Darrynane.

Chief Secretary,

RICHARD LALOR SHIEL, Esq.

Lord Chancellor of Ireland,

LORD LAWLESS.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,

MR. CARLILE, of Fleet-street.

Master of the Mint,

{ MR. HETHERINGTON, of the Repub-
lican.

Paymaster of the Forces,

MR. SAVAGE.

President of the Board of Trade,

MR. PLACE, of Charing-cross.

Secretary at War,

MR. C. BULLER.

Treasurer of the Navy,

CAPTAIN EDWARD BOYS.

Archbishop of Canterbury,

REV. DR. WADE.

Postmaster General,

MR. JOSEPH ADY, of the Minorities.

Attorney General,

MR. MAURICE O'CONNELL.

Solicitor General,

MR. DICAS.

Judge Advocate General,

DANIEL WHITTLE HARVEY, Esq.

MR. CHARLES PEARSON.

Junior Lords of the Treasury,

MR. GALLOWAY.

MR. GROTE, M. P.

MR. FEARON, of Holborn-hill.

MR. ASHURST, of Newgate-street.

Joint Secretaries,

{ MR. FRANKS, of Barbican.

{ MR. MICHAEL SCALES.

Lords of the Admiralty, Secretaries, Commissioners, &c.	{ The Young O'CONNELLS, the BULWERS, the "TAIL," Messrs. WIGNEY, FAITHFUL, FIELDEN, ROEBUCK, &c.
Master of the Horse,	COLONEL TORRENS.
Master of the Buck Hounds,	JOHN GULLEY, Esq.
Lord Chamberlain,	ALDERMAN HARMER.
Vice Chamberlain,	MR. SAUL.*

"Is not this a dainty dish to set before the King?"

Referring to the Whigs, and their intended measures, "*when they are next in office!!*" Mr. Bulwer says, "there must be no refusing to unfurl the sail when the wind is fair." The seamanship of the Radicals consists in first making the crew drunk, and then inducing them to crowd every inch of canvas, regardless of the lowering and gloomy horizon, and the increasing gale. The excitement of the scene is agreeable, and even captivating, to their ignorant dupes,—until crash go the masts by the board! The squall has overtaken the ill-managed vessel; she drives on the rocks; and the drunkards are seized with a stupid panic. Not so their leaders; they knew the risk, but, gambler-like, they have chosen to play a desperate game, as their last and only chance; they are foiled, and they sorrow—for themselves; pity for their victims, they have none.

The Duke is said, in his temporary management of some of the government offices, to have had "India in one pocket and the Colonies in the

* This worthy, at a late wardmote, after abusing the conduct of His Majesty, whom he chose to designate "The Chief Magistrate," declared, that "the times of Charles I. *were returning*, and that the *consequences to that Monarch* should not be forgotten."—See *Morning Herald*, 25th Dec. 1834.

other." Was Mr. Bulwer ignorant that the Right Hon. Charles Grant, still presided at the Board of Control? When Mr. Bulwer says, "Horse Guards, Law, State, and the Army, each at the Duke's command!" does he forget that Lord Hill was still Commanding-in-chief, and that Lord Lyndhurst was Chancellor? Did he shut his eyes and refuse to see that Lord Auckland was still at the Admiralty; that several others of the late ministry were yet superintending their departments; and that new Lords of the Treasury were promptly appointed? But the Duke is said to be "Jack of all trades, and *master of none—but that of war.*" "We ask for a cabinet, and see *but a soldier.*" It is a gratification to know that Rome did not produce quid-nuncs like Mr. Bulwer, to make mouths at Cæsar,—or to make books to show that a "Master of War" who has proved himself capable of governing efficiently an immense kingdom, under the most appalling circumstances of wretchedness, famine, and revolt in *the face of a powerful enemy*; should have found it any thing difficult to hold the reins of government for a few weeks, in a well-ordered country during profound peace, and supported, as he was, and is, by the lawful monarch, and all that is estimable in the land.

He is "*but a soldier!*"—Does not Mr. Bulwer see, that this term, as applied to the Duke, meaning the *beau idéal* of a great general,—a "Master of War," absolutely denotes the most distinguished of public

stations, and that such a soldier must, necessarily, be a statesman.

But, in truth, his Grace has merely done that which Mr. Spring Rice was entrusted to do very recently, viz. superintending three or four offices of State for a short time, which, during the recess, every practical man knows to be no uncommon or very wonderful undertaking. But your *mere book-makers* cannot understand this; they remember the dreadful fuss they make in *getting out* one of their insignificant story-books, when they stir heaven and earth, and printers' devils, and think it the most important event in the universe. They cannot imagine how the affairs of millions of men (comprising, among others, many brother book-makers!) can be managed without a multitude of officials, each making a tumult like scribblers on the day of publication. Good Mr. Bulwer, you are mistaken; these millions of men, in times of public tranquillity, such as we have witnessed since the Whig downfall, are managed more easily than the millions of words you string together in your novels.

Most anxious was Mr. Bulwer to persuade Sir Robert Peel not to join the new ministry, and highly does he amuse himself, as he thinks, at Sir Robert's expense. But the Rt. Hon. Baronet would have been guilty of total imbecility had he been so blind as not to have seen that the alternative is now not between Whig and Tory, but between the Conservatives and the Revolutionists. The

ultra-Whigs, as a party, are extinct; so are the ultra-Tories. Men must now be "for the King," or "for a Republic;" and Sir Robert did not hesitate to declare his choice. The idea of his being "a creature of office," is too absurd, when we consider his wealth and character; that he (in the words of Mr. Bulwer), is "great in his talents, greater in his position, greatest in his honour."

That he can be "the dupe of the Duke of Wellington" is at once refuted, by the fact of his Grace having, with magnanimity unparalleled, recommended him to his Sovereign, as Premier; the Duke being indifferent about holding office himself, and leaving the matter for the consideration of his Royal Master, and his friend the new Premier. Was ever so distinguished a compliment, so marked a deference shown to any individual, even of royal blood, in any country, as that paid to Sir Robert Peel, in keeping all the arrangements of the Crown in abeyance,—though superintended *ad interim* by the most influential and energetic character of the age, respected by *all* parties, though dreaded by the factious, because he is "in himself a host" to oppose their traitorous designs—until the destined Premier returned, on being summoned, from the other end of Europe!—not "by easy stages," as Mr. Bulwer pretends to "*see by the papers*," but as rapidly as the importance of the occasion demanded; relays being kept ready throughout the long line of road; and steamers at each port to hasten his arrival.

Mr. Bulwer considers that the electoral body is the same, at this moment, as it was when the present House of Commons was returned. He is mistaken. The Radicals would not pay up their taxes in proper time, or find the *registration shilling*; — and thus nearly half of them are disfranchised for the next ten months. But the Conservatives, not being in the habit of evading the one, nor unable to produce the other, have universally registered, and are voters still. We shall, consequently, see a reinforcement of, at least, 200 members join the conservative ranks.

We are told (p. 65.), that we are still “the great English people.” WE ARE SO; but Europe doubts it, and had nearly forgotten that we had ever been thought so. But the name of WELLINGTON has reminded them that he will no longer consent that England shall remain like the lacquey of Europe in the ante-chambers of the continental princes.*

* *National*, of Nov. 22, 1834. — “The Duke of Wellington will not consent to remain merely at the door of Europe, and in the ante-chamber of the high powers; he will leave there the royalty of the 7th of August, which considers itself much honoured even to be there. The Duke of Wellington will reclaim a portion of influence in the affairs of Europe, and he will take that part at the expense of France.” On which an English gentleman, writing from Paris, remarks, — “Now, really, if M. Armand Carrel had studied for seven years, or for seventy times seven, to find out, in as few words as possible, how he could express the contempt which even France feels for the degrading and humiliating character of the foreign policy

It is true we are “*remote* alike from Ochlocracy or Mob-rule, and Despotism:” but we have had a narrow escape from the first; and a firm and moderate government will save us from *both* in future. For the last four years we have had a ministry indeed, but we have been *without a government!*—though we were threatened with that of the Political Unions! It is time such a state of things should cease.

But “out of their own mouths” does Mr. Bulwer pretend to “condemn” the Tories. Let us see. What are their guilty confessions? “The King of Holland is our most ancient ally, whom nothing but the most revolutionary doctrines could induce us to desert.” Who, but the admirers of the “Braves Belges,” doubts it? “Charles X. was an injured monarch, and the people a rebellious mob.” Who, that has seen the *ordinances* virtually enforced upon a weathercock people by his successor, doubts it?

of Great Britain during the last four years; and if he had studied for the same length of time how to present to the world the most striking contrast which must unavoidably exist between a Whig and a Tory administration, he could not possibly have more effectually succeeded than he has done in the lines I have cited, and which I expressly repeat in the language in which they were written: — ‘Le Duc de Wellington ne consentira pas à rester à la porte de l’Europe et dans l’antichambre des grandes puissances; il y laissera la royauté du 7 Août, qui s’y trouve fort honorée. Le Duc de Wellington reclamera une part d’influence dans les affaires d’Europe, et il la prendra aux dépens de la France.’”

The French themselves, almost to a man, proclaim it.

But Mr. Bulwer *chooses* to forget that, true to his principles of recognising all *de facto* governments, the Duke was the first to recognise Louis Philippe, as he did the young Queen of Portugal. That the people of Austria are happy under their paternal government, every traveller in that empire can vouch for. In pity to the ruined Whigs, I will say nothing, here, about unhappy and betrayed Poland. As to Don Miguel, — did not the Duke withdraw our ambassador from his court, and constantly refuse to recognise him on account of his atrocious conduct, though such refusal was contrary to his Grace's general views as to *de facto* governments? Who ever denied the follies and crimes of this *Pariah* prince? And yet it is quite true that he was overthrown, not by Portuguese swords, but by a motley mass of foreigners, hired to fight against him.

That the accession of the Duke to power will cause a sensation throughout Europe, cannot be doubted; because it will be the signal for England taking her former accustomed precedence in the European councils. Let the Conservatives have but *two years* to restore the broken energies of Great Britain, and thenceforward a cannon shot shall not be fired in Europe without her consent.

The hopes of all the enemies of order are in the state of Ireland — that great destroyer of cabinets. But on a determination of the new government to

relieve the *poor* of Ireland, to correct the real abuses and actual grievances which afflict *them*, and to improve the condition of *their* country—being announced, Ireland would be tranquillised in a fortnight, in spite of O'Connell and the "Tail."

As to the effect of the new government upon the negro apprentices, it will be this—the meddling blockheads who seem to consider it their duty to instil into the sable labourers, every species of opposition to the lawful orders of their employers, being immediately removed and replaced by better judging men—the *name* alone of the new ministry will restore peace and subordination among the Islands. What is likely to occur when the negro shall, by law, be at liberty to do nothing, is, just now too disagreeable a picture to contemplate.

Sir Robert Peel has flatly contradicted Mr. Bulwer's insinuation that the new government would attempt to *repeal the Reform Act*. We might as reasonably have expected them to repeal the Union with Ireland, or the Act of Succession. So I pass over all his lugubrious reflections on that subject. Sir George Murray has fully exonerated himself from the charges made by certain Dissenters. These are unreasonable and ill-judging people. It is to be regretted, that from their making such insolent demands as the separation of the Church from the State, moderate men are rendered unwilling to grant lesser concessions, about which (if understood to be final and irrevocable, as the Premier

declares the Reform Bill to be), there would be no difficulty.

Mr. Bulwer gives us *his* application of Esop's fable of "The Horse and the Man." He considers the people as the horse, which he recommends to kick, and thus perhaps dash out the brains of the friendly mortal who would restrain its too high spirits, and keep it in sound condition, well-housed—well-fed, and tended with all gentleness—proud of its own strength and beauty. But this state of comfort does not suit the ideas of our demagogues; they tell THE HORSE (the simile is not mine, my countrymen) that it has not *enough* liberty, and they bid it shake off all obedience and restraint, and gallop madly into the savage woods and fastnesses; there to gnaw and tear its own species, should other food fail, or starve like the savage beasts of the desert—for the sake of *more* liberty!

I object to this kind of reasoning with the people; they are not to be argued with as though they were horses. Such notions may suit the agitators who use them only as tools for their own purposes; but to my mind the people of England are not to be deceived by such poor and shallow devices. The question must be made apparent to them all; it is repose or anarchy—improvement or confusion. They are neither besotted enough, nor wicked enough, to neglect their own affairs, in creating a tumult to their own ruin, simply to please radical adventurers and desperate revolutionists.

So at the present election they will not be led away by spouters and political unionists without character or intellect; nor promise their votes to disturbers of the public peace, under whatever name they may solicit them—Liberals, Reformers, Radicals, or Repealers. They will support the Conservatives, who alone are the friends of the King: and the King is *pledged* that his ministers shall “*correct abuses, and improve the condition of the country.*” Did the King ever deceive you? The traitor who may dare to say so, “lies in his throat!” *Every party but the Conservatives*, (under whose banners the moderate and independent men of all the former political sections—Whigs, Tories, and Reformers, have now enlisted,) are the enemies of the Monarchy, the Church, and the Constitution. Place not your trust in those who are desirous only of revolution, in which they hope for a general scramble. Yet in such an event who are the first to suffer? Who will divide the largest portions, not of the spoil, but of the shot and sabre-cuts of the contending parties?—why the labourers, the journeymen of our trades, the workmen at our factories, the small shop-keepers and farmers!—while instant annihilation of all connected with the liberal arts must forthwith take place.

But the perverseness of the agitators, and of their fugleman Bulwer, is really laughable. Remembering the *five millions of taxes which were repealed* by the Duke of Wellington, they tell the people by no means to agree to the repeal of the Malt Tax or

the Window Tax, "*because* if they were removed, *others* must be laid on." No doubt, for the Malt Tax produces an enormous sum ; it is not like the paltry taxes on tiles and short-tailed dogs, repealed by the late ministers. But the new tax would be placed on those alone who are well able to pay it ; and therefore it would be a childish folly not to rejoice if so great a blessing to the middle and poorest classes can be accomplished.

The repeal of the Window Tax will give the present government an opportunity, of which it will no doubt gladly avail itself, *to annihilate the whole army of tax-gatherers !* They might be disbanded ; for the remaining assessed taxes could be collected by making it imperative (under a heavy penalty) on all persons keeping or using any horse, carriage, servant, dog, &c., *to take out a stamped license*, to be procurable at the Stamp Office of each district, and at the same cost as the amount of the duty at present imposed on the particular luxury. Thus might these objectionable taxes be collected with as little expense, with the same ease, and as inoffensively to the feelings of the people, as the present stamp duties.

With a recommendation to the people to elect nobody but Radicals, and with one more parting sneer at the King, does this exemplary Mr. Liston Bulwer conclude as he commences (for I observe his quotation in his title page from "Mackintosh" is a libel upon our gallant English-hearted Monarch) his rambling piece of sedition. It has been tedious,

but perhaps not quite unprofitable, to notice the various insults, fallacies, deceptions, and gross political mistakes which this conceited tale-maker foists upon us for statesman-like lore.

The extracts in his Appendix are answered in the foregoing remarks; but the last paragraph endeavours to excite an opposition to the Tories, because they did *not* consider the "mechanics, shop-keepers, and £10 voters," to be *the class best calculated* to hold the power of creating the House of Commons. But this very class of men are the most interested in the stability of a Conservative Government, and they will now have an early opportunity of proving, by the number of "the Kings's friends," whom they may return, how mistaken was the fear of placing power in the unaccustomed hands of the industrious and respectable classes of our fellow-countrymen: for, in spite of possibly some faults, there are no men in the world who are more ready to acknowledge a mistake, and to make the *amende honorable*, than the Tories. The Conservatives, to a man, feel a much deeper respect and more sincere regard for their humbler fellow-countrymen, than the sycophants who now seek to cajole them.

Where is the poor man who has ever been insulted by the Conservatives? They would recoil with contempt from him who would be guilty of such a deed. They know that they themselves are labourers for the public weal, and that in the sight of Almighty God, there does not exist a more *noble*

object, than the labouring man who works for his daily bread.

It has been said, by the enemies of order, and the few admirers of the late "*incapables*," that the present is a high-church, back-bone, ultra-Tory ministry; and therefore the reverse of a *liberal* ministry. Now the address issued by Sir Robert Peel, and the practical views of the Duke of Wellington, alike disprove this assertion, which is grounded upon the circumstance of Sir Edward Knatchbull having joined the government. But it must be remembered that the Premier's first step on taking office was to communicate his intended policy to Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham, who approved his proposed measures, though they declined accepting office, lest it might expose them to the attacks of ignorant and low-minded people, which might, doubtless, have been turned to the prejudice of the government at the general election, by artful and designing men. There may have been too much fastidiousness on the part of the noble lord, at so critical a juncture as the present, to which ordinary rules are altogether inapplicable; but these Liberal Conservatives having approved and tendered their parliamentary support of the Premier's intended measures, it was impossible for him subsequently to propose a different system to Sir Edward Knatchbull. Thus it is certain that the ministry has not become ultra by the admission of the latter individual; it is the worthy Kentish Baronet who

has become moderate, as may indeed be seen, in his excellent and manly address to his constituents.

I believe the present ministry to be eminently *liberal* in their practical views; but their official experience has shown them the propriety of restricting their measures to the removal of *proved* abuses and *real* grievances; and, as Sir Robert Peel most justly observes, “of *not* promising the instant redress of *any thing which any body may call* an abuse.” The present ministry are men of first-rate talent, of undoubted integrity, of immense personal influence, and possessing the confidence of all the higher interests of this great empire. It is opposed only by a minority, the offspring of the late reform agitation—a minority which, however, makes up in indefatigable activity what they want in numbers. In this respect the Conservatives might, with advantage, imitate them. Some oppose the ministry from ignorant prejudice, for they say, “the government must have tyrannical intentions, for it does not even *profess* to be a liberal one.” The present ministers are cautious in their professions; for (unlike their predecessors), when they promise, they mean to perform; and therefore are cautious not to promise foolish or impracticable measures. But they have avoided the use of the *words* Liberal and Liberalism, which, like that of Reform, have been so profaned of late years as to disgust many sincere and honourable men, Lords Lincoln and Stormont for example, who, though really liberal in practice, dis-

like and refuse to use the terms so prostituted. The Destructives (take their chiefs, Lord Durham and O'Connell, for instances) are the reverse of all this. Incéssantly professing their devotion to the cause of liberty and ultra-liberalism, they are intolerable tyrants in their hearts — aye, and in their habits too—as those who know them best can testify.

That the government do not condescend to coax and wheedle, tells in their favour; especially at a time when they have, without waiting for the addition of strength which every succeeding day must give to a new government, fearlessly appealed to the good sense and sound judgment of the people. Is it not *cowardly* of the Destructives, is it not disgraceful to all reasonable beings, to attempt to extort pledges from the candidates at the hustings, that they will oppose, in *every possible manner*, the present ministry, without going into the merits of their proposed measures? Was any thing ever before heard of so abominable as this proposal? The people have nothing to fear from any ministry; they can at any time instruct their representatives to vote against their *measures*, but they would surely never bid them to vote against the *men*. The people possess a giant's power, but it is not good to use it like a giant. To convict untried, to condemn unheard, would be monstrous! and the proposal is a fearful sign of the times;—formerly no man would have dared to maintain so despicable a doctrine in the presence of Englishmen.

The electors of the metropolis ought to set an example to the rest of the empire. But of late the City has become the laughing-stock of the out-ports, for the citizens cheered on the late ministers, and hallooed loudly in their praise, at the very instant they were half ruining the trade and port of London, and sacrificing twenty-five millions of property between London-bridge and Blackwall to their free-trade doctrines. The city of London has become the contempt of the country, since it has been disgraced by a contemptible and vulgar set of men, who have predominated in its Common Council, and by an impudent audacity palmed themselves off as the organs of the public opinion of the capital of Great Britain.

Even now a desperate faction are straining every nerve to return *four* Radicals to represent the city! Is it possible that in the nineteenth century men of business and education can be so ignorant as not to see the danger which awaits every species of property, the utter stagnation of trade, and of every kind of enterprise, which must ensue if the Radicals obtain a majority in the new House of Commons. The decline of the empire would from that moment be rapid and frightful. The Church would be the first offering to infidelity and mob rapacity; the tithes would of course be instantly extinguished, as a fraud; the lay improPRIATORS, who should ask for compensation, would be ridiculed for fancying tithes could ever have been *property*. We should next

see the aristocracy sacrificed to a populace maddened by frenzy. The idea of paying the public creditor would quickly be laughed at, and declared, in Mr. O'Connell's words, to be "THE CANT OF NATIONAL FAITH,"—*and forthwith the funds are sponged away.* Next come the annihilation of the monarchy, a National Convention, and *an equitable adjustment*, by sharing all property, public and private, to every man alike, on the Spencean system, putting aside all former titles and rights. This charming process would of course be repeated every now and then for the benefit of those who spent their shares the fastest.

Gentlemen citizens, do you like the picture? Then do not support the men whose doctrines would destroy all trade, and annihilate all property. Return, then, the three Conservative candidates, and let the *soi-disant Liberals* return their ancient member, the Alderman, who is sure of *his* election; *but let no Conservative vote for him, or for any of the other Radical candidates, either from personal regard, or to gratify the importunity of friendship.*

Mr. Grote has lost himself by associating with a gang who are a disgrace to him; show him that you think so by giving him his *congé*. Dismiss the useless and sham-liberal Crawford. Take not the Bank Director, who surely has nothing but his wealth and his official situation to recommend him. Away with them all three; but let the worthy old Alderman Wood remain, the last of his race, to

witness the explosion of his mistaken notions of mob government, and, as a man of candour, perhaps to support the measures of the new ministry.

The value of all the property, of whatever description, in this kingdom, depends on the result of this election. Should the Conservatives not obtain a large majority, it must *fall* in value to a most ruinous degree ; but if, as there is every reason to hope, all those who have any thing to lose will return the defenders of the throne and the altar, (trusting to their power as constituents to influence their members' conduct upon the measures which ministers may propose) then, indeed, property will much advance in value, and be really worth full *one half more than it is at this moment*, on account of its far greater stability and security, resulting from a Conservative House of Commons. Choose, then, citizens of London. Will you elect men whose mistaken views and dangerous policy would ruin your port and shipping, destroy your trade, and perhaps clear out your magnificent warehouses for a general scramble, and empty your handsome shops at the pleasure of an ungovernable populace ? Citizens, you have never yet seen anarchy let loose among you, or the mob triumphant at your doors ; but be assured the thing *is possible*. If this moment for reflection be passed in inactive sloth, or unbelieving obstinacy, you must not complain of your hard fate if your [incredible stubbornness brings the armed

rioter, the savage incendiary, the prowling robber, the brutal ravisher or the relentless murderer, to your homes. The well-bred and easy citizens of Paris laughed at the prediction of Revolution, and insisted upon "working out the cause of liberty." But the storm of blood and the reign of terror arrived, *and they were convinced*. Citizens, reflect! and may your conviction be that of reason, and not of dread experience. If once the bloody tempest arise, who may live to see its termination, and find aught left in the world, which could render existence tolerable? My countrymen, there is now yawning beneath your feet—the Abyss of Revolution. Will you prefer to cross it in safety by the Bridge of Conservatism, or attempt to pass by the rotten, though gaudily painted plank of Radicalism? If the majority should, in defiance of all reason and of the experience of statesmen, wilfully take to the unsound and desperately dangerous plank, it must assuredly give way, and precipitate them, with all that is dear to them, into the hideous gulf below. They fancy they see the Goddess of Liberty seated on a pedestal of rock, but it is only the accursed Spirit of coarse Republicanism, beckoning from afar her infatuated victims. Fly, then, to the Bridge, and pass in safety over the gaping chasm.

Friends and fellow countrymen, farewell! from my inmost heart I wish for your happiness. Proclaim yourselves the friends of the King and of

order. On the day of election be true to yourselves, and return only *Conservative Gentlemen*, who will not rashly sacrifice the peace of these kingdoms; and bid them support the King's servants so long as they "CORRECT ABUSES, AND IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY."

Be not deceived by those who have Reform on their lips, but Anarchy and Revolution in their hearts. Behave like loyal Englishmen, on whose solemn decision depends your country's fate; and hereafter it will be your pride to tell your children's children; "There was an hour, deep fraught with peril to the State;—Treason walked abroad, and traitors dared to beard a gracious Sovereign. Our holy Church was openly threatened with destruction. The best of Monarchs, in that dreadful hour, appealed to his faithful people. WE WERE TRUE TO OUR GOD; WE SUPPORTED OUR KING AND HIS GALLANT CONSERVATIVES; WE MAINTAINED INVIOLEATE OUR SACRED RELIGION—AND SAVED THE EMPIRE.

THE END.

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